

Message Text

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ACTION MBFR-03

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 EUR-25 IO-12 OIC-04 AEC-11 ACDA-19

OMB-01 TRSE-00 CIAE-00 PM-09 INR-10 L-03 NEA-10

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P R 111844 Z MAY 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2848

INFO SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

MBFR CAPITALS 419

USMISSION GENEVA

USNMR SHAPE

USLOSACLANT

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USDEL SALT TWO II

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 VIENNA 3955

GENEVA FOR DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: MBFR: DISCUSSION WITH SOVIET REPS ON LISTING
OF PARTICIPANTS

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. ON MAY 10, SOVIET REP KHLESTOV
SOUGHT OUT US REP TO RETRACT AGREEMENT BY SOVIETS IN
EDITORIAL SESSION EARLIER THE SAME DAY THAT RUSSIAN
LANGUAGE VERSION OF CHAIRMAN'S RECORD OF FIRST PLENARY
SESSION WOULD CONTAIN ALPHABETICAL LISTING OF 19
PARTICIPANTS IN WHICH FRG WOULD BE LISTED UNDER
LETTER " G " IN RUSSIAN ALPHABET AS THE " FEDERAL REPUBLIC
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OF GERMANY". KHLESTOV SAID SOVIETS DID NOT DISPUTE ENGLISH, FRENCH OR GERMAN LANGUAGE VERSIONS, IN WHICH THE FRG IS LOCATED IN THE ALPHABETICAL LISTING IN EACH CASE ACCORDING TO ITS GEOGRAPHIC DESIGNATOR " GERMANY," BUT SAID THE RUSSIAN LANGUAGE VERSION SHOULD NOT HAVE ALPHABETICAL ORDER OF PARTICIPANTS BUT SAME ORDER AS THE ENGLISH VERSION. KHLESTOV ASSERTED THAT IN AGREEING TO THEM EARLIER IN TALKS, HE HAD MISUNDERSTOOD ALLIED PROPOSALS ON THIS TOPIC. US REP TOLD KHELSTOV HE SHOULD RECONSIDER. IN DISCUSSION BETWEEN NETHERLAND

AND US REPS AND SOVIET REPS ON THE MORNING OF MAY 11, SOVIETS PUT FORWARD SAME POSITION, INDICATING THAT FOR THEM THE ISSUE WAS ONE OF AVOIDING A PRECEDENT FOR FUTURE INTERNATIONAL LISTING OF THE FRG AND THAT ANY CHANGE WOULD HAVE TO BE REFERRED TO MOSCOW WITH RESULTANT CHANCE OF DELAYING THE PLENARY SCHEDULED FOR MAY 14. AFTER DISCUSSION IN THE AD HOC GROUP, US AND NETHERLANDS REP REACHED AGREEMENT WITH SOVIETS THAT LISTING IN RUSSIAN LANGUAGE VERSION WOULD BE AS IN ENGLISH VERSION AND THAT RUSSIAN TEXT WOULD CARRY FOOTNOTE THAT LISTING WAS ACCORDING TO ENGLISH ALPHABET. END SUMMARY.

2. IN EAST - WEST EDITORIAL SESSION ON MORNING OF MAY 10, TO COMPARE TEXTS OF CHAIRMAN' S RECORD OF FIRST PLENARY IN THE FOUR OFFICIAL LANGUAGES, ENGLISH, FRENCH, GERMAN AND RUSSIAN, SOVIET REP (MAZUE), AFTER BRIEF OBJECTION, ACCEPTED ALPHABETICAL LISTING OF 19 PARTICIPANTS IN PARAGRAPH 1 OF CHAIRMAN' S RECORD WITH BOTH FEDERAL REPUBLIC AND GDR LISTED IN ACCORDANCE WITH RUSSIAN WORDS FOR GERMANY AND GERMAN. EASTERN REPS ALSO AGREED TO LISTING FRG IN FRENCH VERSION UNDER POSITION APPROPRIATE FOR " ALLEMAGNE" AND IN GERMAN VERSION, FOR " DEUTSCHLAND."

3. LATER ON MAY 10, SOVIET REP KHLESTOV CALLED ON US REP. HE SAID THAT SOVIET REP IN EDITORIAL SESSION HAD ACTED ERRONEOUSLY AND THAT SOVIETS WISHED TO HAVE LISTING OF COUNTIRES IN FIRST THREE PARAGRAPHS OF RUSSIAN LANGUAGE TEXT OF THE NINE POINTS AND IN THE EXCHANGE OF STATEMENTS IN THE SAME ORDER AS IN THE

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ENGLISH LANGUAGE VERSION. KHLESTOV SAID SOVIETS DID NOT OBJECT TO MAINTAINING ORDER ESTABLISHED EARLIER IN THE DAY FOR GRENCH AND GERMAN VERSIONS. HOWEVER, THER HAD BEEN A MISUNDERSTANDING ON HIS SID OF THE ALLIED PROPOSALS FOR ALPHABETICAL LISTING. HE REALIZED HE HAD AGREED TO THESE PROPOSALS BUT HAD DONE SO WITHOUT BEING FULLY AWARE OF THEIR IMPORT. MOWCOW HAD APPROVED

THE CHAIRMAN'S STATEMENT WITH LISTING IN THE ORDER PRESENTED IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE VERSION. TO REOPEN THE ISSUE IN MOSCOW WOULD CAUSE HIM PERSONAL EMBARRASSMENT AND RAISE A MAJOR POLITICAL ISSUE.

4. US REP SAID IT WAS LATE IN THE DAY TO RAISE AGAIN A QUESTION WHICH HAD BEEN RESOLVED FULLY IN THE TALKS THUS FAR. COMPLETE UNDERSTANDING ON THIS ISSUE HAD ALREADY BEEN REACHED AND THIS WAS THE BASIS ON WHICH THE ALLIES HAD APPROVED THE PACKAGE. HE ADVISED SOVIET REP TO RECONSIDER HIS POSITION AND SAID HE WOULD BE IN TOUCH WITH HIM ON FOLLOWING DAY TO LEARN HIS RESPONSE.

5. US REP REPORTED DISCUSSION TO FRG REP (RUTH) SAME AFTERNOON. AFTER TWICE DISCUSSION MATTER WITH FRG FONOFF ASST. SECY. VANWELL, FRG REP SUGGESTED TO US REP THAT IN SCHEDULED DISCUSSION WITH KHLESTOV, US REP TAKE LINE THAT THE GERMAN ISSUE HAD ALREADY BEEN RESOLVED EARLIER IN THE TALKS AND THAT THE QUESTION KHLESTOV WAS NOW RAISING WAS ONE WHICH CONCERNED ALL OF THE ALLIES, IN FACT ALL 19 PARTICIPANTS, BECUASE THEY WOULD BE LISTED IN THE RUSSIAN LANGUAGE VERSION IN DISORDER AND IN DEPARTURE FROM USUAL INTERNATIONAL CUSTOM IF THE KHLESTOV PROPOSAL WERE TO BE FOLLOWED. HENCE, FRG POSITION WOULD BE THAT IF MAJORITY OF AD HOC GROUP AS THOSE CONCERNED ACCEPTED PRESENT SOVIET PROPOSAL, THE FRG WOULD BE WILLING TO DO SO ALSO. COMMENT: APPARENT FRG MOTIVE WAS TO AVOIDE CRISIS OVER DESIGNATION OF FEDERAL REPUBLIC COMING AT PRESENT MOMENT OF RATIFICATION DEBATE ON FRG- GDR TREATY AND BREZHNEV VISIT AND BEING POSSIBLE CAUSE OF POSTPONEMENT OF FIRST SESSION OF TALKS, WITH FURTHER RISK THAT SOVIETS WOULD NOT CONCEDE BUT INSTEAD INSIST ON ALPHABETICAL LISTING

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ACCORDING TO USUAL SOVIET PRACTICE, WHICH LISTS FRG UNDER " FEDERAL" COMING NEAR END OF SOVIET ALPHABET. END COMMENT.

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ACTION MBFR-03

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P R 111844 Z MAY 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2849

INFO SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

MBFR CAPITALS 420

USMISSION GENEVA

USNMR SHAPE

USLOSACLANT

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USDEL SALT TWO II

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 3 VIENNA 3955

GENEVA FOR DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

6. IN SESSION ON MAY 11, ALLIES WERE REPRESENTED BY NETHERLANDS AND US REPS AND SOVIETS BY KHLESTOV, TIMERBAYEV, AND MOVCHAN, SOVIET LEGAL EXPERT WHO HAD JUST RETURNED FROM MOSCOW. KHLESTOV SAID HE HAD LOOKED THROUGH HIS NOTES ON PAST DISCUSSIONS. AS FAR AS HE COULD MAKE OUT, THERE HAD BEEN DISCUSSION OF THE ENGLISH VERSION ONLY INsofar AS SEATING ARRANGEMENTS WERE CONCERNED. THE USUAL PRACTICE IN THE USSR WAS THAT THE FRG WAS LISTED UNDER THE LETTER " F", WHICH CAME TOWARDS THE END OF THE RUSSIAN ALPHABET, BUT THE SITUATION IN VIENNA WAS SUCH THAT THE SOVIETS REALIZED THEY HAD TO FIND ANOTHER SOLUTION. THE PROPOSAL THEY

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HAD MADE TO THEIR AUTHORITIES IN MOSCOW WAS THAT THE ORDER IN THE RUSSIAN LANGUAGE VERSION OF THE CHAIRMAN'S REPORT SHOULD FOLLOW THE ORDER OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEXT. THIS PROPOSAL HAD BEEN APPROVED. WHEN HE HAD REVIEWED HIS NOTES HE BELIEVED THAT THE ONLY ISSUE WHICH HAD INVOLVED ALPHABETICAL ORDER WAS THE QUESTION OF THE SEATING ORDER, RATHER THAN THE LANGUAGE ORDER IN THE RUSSIAN VERSION. HE DID NOT BLAME ANYONE FOR THIS MISUNDERSTANDING, BUT

IT WAS CLEAR A MISUNDERSTANDING EXISTED.

7. KHESTOV CONTINUED THAT HE COULD ONLY SAY THAT IF THE RUSSIAN LANGUAGE VERSION WAS TO CONTAIN AN ALPHABETICAL LISTING, THEN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC WOULD HAVE TO BE IN ITS USUAL POSITION NEAR THE END OF THE LISTING. THIS WAS THE USUAL SOVIET PRACTICE IN DIPLOMATIC AND OFFICIAL PAPERS. THE SOVIETS REALIZED THAT THE PRESENT SITUATION MADE SUCH A SOLUTION IMPOSSIBLE, AND THEY WERE WILLING TO ACCEPT A SOLUTION WHEREBY THE RUSSIAN TEXT WOULD LIST THE COUNTRIES IN THE ORDER OF THE ENGLISH TEXT, WITH THE FRG FOLLOWING THE GDR. HE WISHED TO EMPHASIZE THAT THE PROPOSED RECORD HAD BEEN APPROVED ON THIS BASIS BY MOSCOW. IT WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT FOR THE SOVIET DELEGATION TO CHANGE THINGS. FURTHERMORE, A WEEKEND WAS COMING UP AND IT MIGHT NOT BE POSSIBLE TO MAKE THE TIME LIMIT FOR THE FIRST PLENARY SCHEDULED FOR MAY 14. HE DID NOT FEEL IT WAS NECESSARY FOR THE ALLIES TO INSIST ON THIS MATTER, OR TO MAKE A MAJOR ISSUE OF IT. THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE VERSION ESTABLISHED THE SEATING ORDER AND IN THAT WAY WAS IN EFFECT GIVEN PRECEDENCE. THE FRENCH AND GERMAN LANGUAGE VERSIONS FOLLOWED THE SAME PATTERN. THE RUSSIAN LANGUAGE TEXT WAS NOT CRUCIAL. ALPHABETICAL LISTING WAS NOT A UNIVERSAL PRACTICE, EVEN IN TREATIES, AND THE PRESENT INFORMAL DOCUMENT WAS NOT A TREATY.

8. THE US REP SAID IT WAS THE RECOGNIZED PRINCIPLE OF INTERNATIONAL PRACTICE THAT EACH INDIVIDUAL COUNTRY INDICATED TO OTHERS WHICH PART OF ITS DESIGNATION SHOULD BE USED IN ESTABLISHING ITS POSITION IN AN ALPHABETICAL LISTING. EARLIER IN THE PRESENT TALKS THE QUESTION OF THE LISTING OF GERMANY HAD BEEN RESOLVED. FOLLOWING THIS,

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THE QUESTION HAD ARISEN OF THE POSSIBLE PRACTICAL EFFECTS TRANSLATING THIS LISTING INTO THE THREE OTHER OFFICIAL LANGUAGES WOULD HAVE IN CREATING CONFUSION ON THE OTHER OF SEATING AND CHAIRMANSHIP. ON APRIL 28 THE NETHERLANDS REP HAD MADE A SPECIFIC PROPOSAL IN THIS REGARD TO THE SOVIET REPS. THE US REP THEN READ PARAGRAPH 8 OF VIENNA'S 3519. ALLIED REPS HAD MADE CLEAR TO THE SOVIET REPS ON THAT OCCASION THAT BECAUSE THE LISTING OF THE FRG WOULD BE ALPHABETICAL, ACCORDING TO THE TRANSLATION OF THE WORD "GERMANY" IN EACH OF THE FOUR LANGUAGES, A PROBLEM MIGHT ARISE AS TO SEATING, AND FOR THAT REASON HAD PROPOSED A REFERENCE TO THE ENGLISH VERSION IN PARAGRAPHS 4 AND 5 OF THE AGREED PROCEDURES PAPER. ON MAY 4, THE SOVIETS HAD GIVEN FINAL APPROVAL TO THESE ADDITIONS. ON THE MORNING OF MAY 10, EASTERN REPS HAD ACCEPTED VERSION IN RUSSIAN, FRENCH AND GERMAN WHICH REFLECTED THIS UNDERSTANDING, NOW, THE SOVIETS

WERE SUDDENLY MAKE A PROPOSAL WHICH DEVIATED FROM
NORMAL INTERNATIONAL PRACTICE AS REGARDS THE LISTING
OF ALL ALL OF THE COUNTRIES CONCERNED IN PARAGRAPH 1,
2 AND 3 OF THE AGREED RECORD. THE SOVIET PROPOSAL
DID NOT MAKE SENSE AND SHOULD BE WITHDRAWN.

9. MOVCHAN SAID HE HAD JUST RETURNED FROM MOSCOW
WHERE HE HAD BEEN DOING THE BACKSTOPPING IN THE SOVIET
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS FOR THE PRESENT CHAIRMAN'S
RECORD, SO KUSO HE KNEW THE SITUATION THERE. AS FAR AS THE
LISTING OF THE FRG WAS CONCERNED, INTERNATIONAL PRACTICE
WAS MIXED AND THERE WAS AS YET NO CLEAR PATTERN. AS
REGARDS THE PRESENT PAPER, MOSCOW AUTHORITIES HAD,
AFTER INITIAL DOUBTS AND QUESTIONS, BECOME USED
TO THE ENGLISH VERSION AND HAD ACCEPTED THIS ORDER.
THE PRESENT DOCUMENT WAS A PRODUCT OF A LENGTHY EXCHANGE
OF VIEWS. IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO CHANGE IT. IT
WAS DOUBTFUL THAT ANY CHANGE WOULD BE DECIDED SOON.
MOVCHAN THEN INDICATED THAT THE SOVIET MOTIVE IN
REQUESTING USE OF THE ENGLISH L
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P R 111844 Z MAY 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2850

INFO SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

MBFR CAPITALS 421

USMISSION GENEVA

USNMR SHAPE

USLOSACLANT

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USDEL SALT TWO II

S E C R E T SECTION 3 OF 3 VIENNA 3955

GENEVA FOR DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

11. THE US REP SAID HE WANTED TO MAKE AN OBSERVATION OFF THE RECORD AND ASIDE FROM THE PRESENT ISSUE. THE QUESTION OF THE LISTING OF GERMANY FOR THE PRESENT TALKS HAD BEEN ESTABLISHED AND WAS NOT AT ISSUE. HOWEVER, SOVIET BEHAVIOR DURING THE DISCUSSION OF THIS MATTER HAD INDICATED A VIEWPOINT WHICH WAS OBJECTIVELY INCORRECT. ON GROUNDS BOTH OF EQUITY AND CUSTOMARY PRACTICE, THE INTERNATIONAL STANDARD FOR THE LISTING OF COUNTRIES WAS TO PERMIT THE COUNTRY CONCERNED TO INDICATE ITS PREFERENCE AS TO WHICH PART OF ITS DESIGNATION SHOULD BE THE DECISIVE PART WITH REGARD TO ALPHABETICAL LISTING. THUS, THE UNITED STATES HAD AGREED TO LISTING UNDER " U " BUT THE UNITED STATES

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OF MEXICO AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF BRAZIL HAD INDICATED THAT THEY WISHED TO BE LISTED UNDER " B " AND " M " RESPECTIVELY. THIS RIGHT SHOULD BE ACCORDED TO THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC AS IT WAS TO OTHER STATES. OTHERWISE, ONE COULD ONLY ENVISAGE LONG WRANGLES IN THE FUTURE OVER THIS MATTER IN THE COURSE OF WHICH OBJECTIONS MIGHT BE MADE ON GROUNDS OF EQUITY TO LISTING THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC UNDER " GERMAN." THE ENTIRE SOVIET APPROACH WAS NOT A FEASIBLE ONE. KHLESTOV SAID HE TENDED TO AGREE WITH THE MAIN LINE OF THE US REP' S INFORMAL COMMENT, BUT IT WAS CLEAR THAT LOGIC AND INTERNATIONAL PRACTICE WERE NOT THE ONLY ELEMENTS INVOLVED IN THE SOVIET PRACTICE. AS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES, EMOTIONS AND HISTORY ALSO PLAYED A ROLE IN THE SOVIET POSITION ABOUT THE LISTING OF GERMANY. HE BELIEVED A CERTAIN EVOLUTION OF OPINION ON THIS MATTER WAS TAKING PLACE AND THAT IT MIGHT BE HANDLED DIFFERENTLY IN THE FUTURE. BUT, THE PRESENT TALKS WERE NOT THE PLACE TO RESOLVE THIS COMPLEX ISSUE. ALLIED REPS SAID THEY WOULD REPORT THE CONVERSATION TO THEIR COLLEAGUES AND BE IN TOUCH.

12. IN AD HOC GROUP MEETING LATER ON MAY 11 (DETAILS SEPTEL), FRG REP TOOK LEAD IN DISCUSSION FOLLOWING REPORT ON SITUATION BY NETHERLANDS AND US REPS, AND SAID AS FAR AS HE WAS CONCERNED, THE ISSUE OF THE LISTING OF THE FRG HAD BEEN SETTLED EARLIER IN THE TALKS AND THE PRESENT PROBLEM WAS ONE WHICH CONCERNED ALL ALLIED PARTICIPANTS. HE HIMSELF DID NOT CONSIDER THE PRESENT PROBLEM A MAJOR ISSUE BUT WAS PREPARED TO GO ALONG WITH THE VIEW OF THE MAJORITY. IN ENSUING DISCUSSION, THE NETHERLANDS REP SUPPORTED THE VIEW THAT THE ISSUE WAS NOT A MAJOR ONE AND SUGGESTED THAT IF THE SOVIETS ACCEPTED A FOOTNOTE IN THEIR TEXT THAT THEIR LISTING CORRESPONDED TO THE ENGLISH ALPHABET,

THIS MIGHT BE AN ADEQUATE WAY OF DEALING WITH THE PROBLEM. THE GROUP AGREED. (COMMENT: DURING SESSION, US REP CONSULTED WITH UK REP AS TO POSTION TO BE TAKEN. BOTH AGREED THAT IT WOULD BE UNREASONABLE TO BE MORE RIGID THAN FRG IN MATTER WHICH ESSENTIALLY CONCERNED IT. END COMMENT.)

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13. IN DISCUSSION LATER THE SAME DAY WITH SOVIET REPS, NETHERLANDS REP SAID THAT THE ALLIES WERE CONCERED ABOUT CONFUSION AND QUESTIONS WICH MIGHT ARISE FROM APPARENT DISCREPANCIES IN THE TEXTS. ALLIED UNDERSTOOD THE SOVIETS HAD A PREDICAMENT AND HAD NO DESIRE TO SEEK TO PROFIT FROM IT. HOWEVER, HE WISHED TO POINT OUT THAT THE ALLIES, TOOK BORE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE RUSSIAN LANGUAGE TEXT JUST AS THE SOVIETS HAS RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE TEXTS IN OTHER LANGUAGES, AND OF COURSE WOULD HAVE TO ANSWER FOR RUSSIAN TEXT TO THEIR AUTHORITIES AND POSSIBLY TO THE PRESS. AS REGARDS THE OBVIOUS DISCREPANCIES BETWEEN THE RUSSIAN LANGUAGE TEXT AND THE OTHER TEXTS, THERE MIGHT BE A WAY OUT OF THIS PREDICAMENT IF THEY WERE TO BE CLARIFIED BY A FOOT NOTE IN THE RUSSIAN VERSION TO THE EFFECT THAT THE LISTING FOLLOWED THAT OF THE ENGLISH ALPHABET. THIS WOULD AT LEAST MAKE THE LISTING IN THE RUSSIAN VERSION, WHICH AFFECTED EVERYONE, APPEAR TO HAVE SOME LOGIC AND REASON RATHER THAN TO BE A PURELY RANDOM SEQUENCE. AFTER BRIEF DISCUSSION, THE SOVIET REPS AGREED THAT A FOOTNOTE WOULD APPEAR AT THE END OF THE TEXT OF THE RUSSIAN VERSION AS FOLLOWS: " NOTE : STATES ARE LISTED IN THE ENGLISH ALPHABETICAL ORDER." SOVIET REPS EXPRESSED THEIR PERSONAL APPRECIATION TO ALLIED REPS FOR THIS OUTCOME.

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